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WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

Executive Benistry

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THE JOINT STAFF

J2DM-108-61 5 April 1961

JCS Declassification/Release Instructions on File

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence

Subject:

Communism in Indonesia

Reference:

J2M-888-60, dtd 20 Dec 60, and Encl thereto

- Since transmittal of reference, conversations between action officers of your staff and J-2 indicated that the requirements set forth in the enclosure to the reference would require many months to complete. The requirements have been carefully re-examined and found to be valid and essential. No formal response to any portion of the requirements has yet been received.
- 2. Information of this nature will probably be required by the Joint Chiefs of Staff on a continuing basis for use in connection with cold war studies and analyses of critical areas. Notification of the estimated completion date is therefore requested both as a guideline for this project and as a general indicator for the Joint Staff of the lead time requirements for any future requests.

ROBERT A. BREITWEISER Major General, USAF Director for Intelligence

Orig. to AD/CI 11 Apr 61. NOTE: Checked with AD/CR recarlier request. OCR people met with JIC people and provided intellofax listings of reference documents as well as some reference service.

Document No. _ Review of this document by CIA has determined that CIA has no objection to declass

tt contains information of CIA interest that must remain TS S classified at

HR 70-2 Authority:

Date Con contains nothing of CIA interest



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WASHINGTON 25. D. C.

INTELLIGENCE DIRECTORATE

60-4842

SECRET

J2M-888-60 20 December 1960

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence

Subject: Communism in Indonesia

Orig. to ADICR

Enclosure: List of Questions

- 1. The Joint Chiefs of Staff have a requirement for detailed information pertaining to Indonesia.
- 2. Attached herewith is a list of questions, the answers to which are deemed essential to meet the Joint Chiefs of Staff requirement. Information of this type in sufficient detail is extremely limited in J-2 and the military Services, and it would be appreciated if you would supply it.
- 3. It is requested that if possible the information be provided by 13 January 1961.

FOR THE DIRECTOR FOR INTELLIGENCE:

I. A. GOLDNER Lt. Colonel, USAF Secretary

NOTE: Mr. Amory talked with Colonel Mickley (11/55697) re this request 3 Jan 61. Mr. Amory explained that we did not have the resources to do the basic research requested but offered complete cooperation of the Reference Service. He suggested that the Joint Staff people contact their normal point for such help. S E C R E T

Decument No. // Review of this document by CIA has CIA has no objection to declass Contains information of GIA Interest that must remain classified at TS S Q Authority: HR 10-2 Date 4. 11. Contains nothing of Cla interest

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ENCLOSURE

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- A. TO WHAT EXTENT HAVE THE COMMUNISTS ESTABLISHED INFLUENCE AND CONTROL?
 - A (1) Who are the influential Communists within the country that direct subversion, infiltration, and other efforts designed to gain political domination? Give biographical data on each.
 - A (2) What strategic positions in the national and local governments are currently occupied by Communists or individuals controlled or significantly influenced by Communists, and has the total number of such positions increased significantly in the past year?
 - A (3) What non-governmental organizations are dominated by the Communist organization? How, and by whom? What is the significance of this organization(s)?
 - A (4) Do Communists overtly or covertly control or significantly influence any means of communication, such as newspapers, radio stations, motion picture facilities, etc.? Which, how, and by whom? How influential is this particular instrument of communication?
 - A (5) Is the Communist apparatus concentrating its efforts towards gaining control or ingratiating itself with any particular ethnic group or groups banded together by a common cause in the country? How? Who are the leaders in this effort?
 - A (6) To what extent and at what levels are the military forces of Indonesia penetrated by Communists, or by those controlled or significantly influenced by Communists? What are the names and positions of those with significant influence?

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- A (7) How and by whom is the covert Communist effort in the country financed?
- A (8) What are the present, and/or most likely courses of Communist covert, political, economic, psychological, and sociological actions?
- A (9) What overt Communist courses of action are currently being used in achieving their objective of establishing Communist control? What are their most likely future courses of action?
- A(10) For the purpose of determining how key Communists, or those they control or significantly influence, can be influenced, controlled, or eliminated as an effective force, the following data is requested:







- B. WHAT ARE THE SIGNIFICANT DISCONTENTS WITHIN THE COUNTRY -- ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, MILITARY OR SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL?
 - B (1) What popular movement or movements have been developed for the purpose of alleviating specific discontents, and where are these groups located?
 - B (2) What are the objectives or interests of any dissident groups?
 - B (3) Who are the leaders of groups mentioned above and how can they be influenced, individually, and/or collectively, towards courses of action favorable to the U.S.?

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- B (4) What is the present and probable future strength of popular support which is being, or can be, developed in support of alleviating the discontent?
- B (5) What are the major and most popular prejudices within the country, i.e., religion, colonialism, Communism, etc.?
- C. WHO ARE THE SIGNIFICANT NON-COMMUNIST INDIVIDUALS AND/OR GROUPS WITHIN THE COUNTRY?
 - C (1) What organizations are anti-Communist and why?
 - C (2) Who are the individuals in positions to exert influence that are opposed to Communism and what is their current position within national or local government or organizations? What support can we give them to make them more effective?
 - C (3) Have anti-Communist organizations increased or decreased in strength in the past year?
 - C (4) Which newspapers, magazines, radio stations, etc., exert an anti-Communist influence, and which are neutral?
 - C (5) Who are the most prominent and influential non-Communist individuals in the field of news media and are they controlled or partially intimidated politically? How and by whom?
 - C (6) What unity exists between anti-Communist individuals or groups?
 - C (7) Which non-Communist political factions collaborate with Communist groups in order to secure political support as required? How?
 - C (8) Who are and what is the position of the most influential non-Communist politicians within the country? Give (as set forth in A (10)).

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- C (9) In the event of Sukarno's death, which ten individuals (listed in order of likelihood) would comprise a list from which his successor would most probably come? Which are most desirable from the standpoint of U.S. interests and objectives? Why?
- C(10) Which influential groups or individuals are pro-U.S. and which are anti-U.S. and why?
- D. WHAT ARE THE MAJOR INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL NATIONAL WEAKNESSES (ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, MILITARY OR SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL)?
 - D (1) Which of the major national weaknesses provide the Communists the greatest opportunity? How?
- E. WHAT ARE THE MAJOR INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL NATIONAL STRENGTHS (ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, MILITARY OR SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL)?
 - E (1) What are the most significant external forces acting on the country? Why are they significant?
- F. WHAT ARE THE PRIMARY INDONESIAN NATIONAL OBJECTIVES?
- G. WHAT IS THE COMPARATIVE MILITARY AND/OR PARA-MILITARY CAPABILITY OF THOSE DESIRING TO SEIZE POWER AS OPPOSED TO THOSE WHO WOULD RESIST?
- H. WHAT IS THE CUSTOMARY WAY OR WAYS FOR THE PEOPLE TO EXPRESS THEIR DISCONTENT AGAINST AUTHORITY, OR WHAT ARE THEIR CUSTOMARY FORMS OF STRUGGLE?
 - H (1) What is the most probable form of struggle and sequence of events that would be utilized in an attempted seizure of power?
 - H (2) What are the most likely alternate forms of struggle with their most likely sequence of events?